Why Unemployment?

By

JOHN KERACHER

Price Five Cents

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
341-349 E. Ohio St. Chicago, Ill.

Why Unemployment?

BY

JOHN KERACHER

Author of "How the Gods Were Made," "Proletarian Lessons," Etc.

CHICAGO
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
1935

PRINTED IN U.S.A.
212

WHY UNEMPLOYMENT?

Millions of people are asking the question, "Why unemployment?" They feel that they are victims of a condition, victims of some force outside of themselves. They know that it is through no fault of their own that they are out of work. They have offered their services to the employing class at lower rates of wages than they have formerly received. They are willing and anxious to work. They have practically begged for an opportunity but the bosses have refused their services, telling them that they have no jobs to offer.

The majority of the unemployed workers are quite conscious that the employers are not withholding the jobs for merely malicious reasons. The employers have said, quite seriously and quite truthfully, "We would be more than pleased to put you to work, if we only could."

Business is bad, there are no orders coming in, and the employers have been obliged to lay off millions of their workers. All this is quite clear to the average worker. But still, through the pressure of circumstances, he is obliged to seek an answer to his questions: "Why unemployment?" "Why has the boss no orders?" "Why is business slack?"

The working man turns to the daily press for answers to his questions. He finds many answers in the newspapers and magazines. He is confused and bewildered. The highest public officials have made their statements; they have given their "answers" to the workers' questions. The university professors have offered their "explanations." The preachers have, prayerfully and tearfully,

discussed the question and added their opinions and their advice. Liberal and conservative writers have speculated and theorized on the unemployment problem. Republican and Democratic politicians have blamed each others' policies. The "Wets" have blamed the "Drys" and the "Drys" have blamed the "Wets." The workers have looked to all these spokesmen for the answers to their problems, and seldom, if ever, have they looked to themselves or their own kind.

The workers lack confidence in themselves and their fellow workers, and, although it may seem strange to some, it is only the working class, the thinking element thereof, that can really answer the question, "Why unemployment?" Further, it is from the working class, and from that class alone, that the solution of the problem can be accomplished.

Confusion

There is only one class of people that can afford to tell the truth all the time. That is the class that has NOTHING TO LOSE by telling it. The rich and powerful have so much at stake that they cannot afford to tell the truth, nor can they afford to have their hirelings tell it for them. The rich give up much of their wealth to subsidize the means of formulating "public opinion," so as to obscure or pervert the facts on social questions. There is a reason. They do not want the working people, the vast majority, to learn the truth. They fear being dislodged from their position of wealth and privilege.

The capitalists who endow universities, who own and control the press and pulpit, see to it that their preachers and teachers, their writers and politicians, confine their

efforts to a defense of the prevailing social order. They pay their hirelings to "account" for social phenomenon, such as unemployment, in harmony with the interests of the capitalists who hold the money bags from which the salaries of their hirelings come. Of course, many of their public men are so convinced of the advantages of the present social order, the capitalist system, that they quite conscientiously defend it, and picture this system that enriches the few and impoverishes the many as the best of all social arrangements. Quite a number of public men, also spokesmen of the rich, are ready to admit that all is not well, that unemployment and the suffering it brings are not so good, but they are quite convinced in their comfortable way, that "things will right themselves" and they hasten to assure the masses that "it is simply a temporary condition and it will soon pass. Meantime," they say, "the workers should not lose confidence in America and 'Americanism,' but just draw up their belts and hold their hands on their stomach a little while longer, until conditions again readjust themselves."

Deception

No ruling class in a "democracy" tries to stay in power by the use of force alone. Force is the weapon to be used in emergency. Deception is the most useful weapon under a "representative" government. It does yeoman service twenty-four hours a day for the masters of America. Their general policy is to fool the workers and keep them divided. They know that if the great majority ever unite on the basis of an understanding of their problem, then it is good-bye to the power and privilege of the plutocratic minority.

While deception is consciously used to a great extent, it is not all deception on the part of the spokesmen of capitalism. Some, like Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Arthur Brisbane and others, may actually believe what they preach. Ignorance of social phenomena, failure to comprehend the working out of social forces, is not confined to the working class. The great variety of explanations of unemployment alone is evidence of the confusion existing in the minds of "our best people," the so-called educated men and women. Let us take a look at some of their arguments. Let us see how they explain the causes of unemployment.

Loss of Confidence

One of the most common contentions as to the cause of unemployment and crisis is loss of confidence. Those who believe this to be the cause of the business breakdown, naturally argue that a restoration of confidence will put the wheels of industry in motion again. "It's a buyers' strike," they say. "Let us restore confidence and break the buyers' strike." How to do this, they argue, is to quit hoarding money and spend it instead. "If the people will begin to buy freely, business will boom again and the unemployed will be put back to work."

It is really surprising how many accept these arguments as sound reasoning. It never seems to occur to them that if business could be restored so easily, the big business men of the nation would be placing large orders for raw materials, machinery and factories. They would also be spending much money on luxuries, with the assurance that it will all come back to them through the increased profits from the pending business boom. We do not see big

business men rushing out to spend. They are cutting down on expenditure instead and, in fact, are buying less. The business class know from experience that such a simple-minded solution to economic crises does not work.

The "loss of confidence" argument is a very old one. Many never go beyond it to ask the question, "Why do people lose confidence?" or, for instance, "Why did they begin to lose confidence in 1929 and not in 1927?"

Psychological Panics

That this idea, that the mental depression brings the economic depression, is rather commonly believed in was demonstrated in 1913 by Woodrow Wilson who contended that the panic of that year was due to a psychological condition. In other words, this "psychological" panic was one that sprang from the mind, from loss of confidence. Just dismiss it from the mind and the panic is not there any more. This Christian Science cure for panics would be a very popular one, if it would only work. What lifted America out of the panic of 1913-14 was not a mere restoration of confidence, but the World War, with its accompanying "war prosperity."

Now, we do not contend that there is no such thing as "loss of confidence." There is plenty of it, but it does not cause panics. It is the result of panics. It is an effect, not the cause. It is not the root, but it is the fruit. Confidence can only be restored by a revival of business. But that is an entirely different matter. It takes us out of the realm of the mind and into that of economics.

Was Prohibition the Cause?

In this dear "land of the free," where the use of intoxicating liquors was for a time "strictly" prohibited,

the population was, in the main, divided into two camps on the question, the "Wets" and the "Drys." With the advent of the present depression and its millions of jobless workers, the ardent "Wets" hastened to lay the panic right at the feet of the prohibitionists. In moist circles the favorite argument was to the following effect: "Look at the work there would be for hundreds of thousands of brewery workers if the eighteenth amendment to the United States constitution was repealed. Look at the hundreds of thousands of bartenders, barrel makers, bottle makers and workers of all kinds that would be given employment if the country were only 'wet' again."

It never seemed to occur to those champions of moist prosperity that in "beery Germany" or in "boozy Britain" there was unemployment on as great a scale as in "dry America." It never seemed to occur to the "wet" philosophers that, with legalization of the traffic, a whole army of honest, hard-working "bootleggers" would have to join the unemployed, together with a small army of paid "snoopers."

This is not an argument, pro or con, on the liquor question, but one against the shallow notion that prohibition brought on the panic. As a matter of fact, America's most prosperous days have been during its prohibition period. However, this was not because of prohibition but despite it, just like British and German prosperity in the past was in spite of liberal liquor policies. Now that the eighteenth amendment has been repealed and the country is again legally "wet" the argument is no longer heard. It has been demonstrated that those who have not the price of bread have not the price of beer.

"The Damned Foreigner!"

In times like the present, when jobs are scarce, and small-fry business men are going to the wall, there is an outcry against "the damned foreigners!" Schultz, of two generations on these shores, or O'Hanrahan, whose tribal ancestors came over in the days of the potato famine, and who, like the Scottish highlanders, married Indian squaws and improved their race, are now howling for legislation to further curb immigration. It is too bad that the Indians did not have an exclusion law.

The argument of these "hundred-per-cent Americans" is that the "foreigner" gets the jobs. There is opposition among the small-fry business gentlemen to the Greek restaurant proprietors and others who "sell for less." "Keep 'em out!" shout these descendants of European immigrants. They never seem to realize that they would not be here at all if their ancestors had not first crossed the big pond.

But supposing that no more foreign-born workers were allowed to enter. Would that solve the problem? Would that put 10,000,000 or more back to work? If the "foreigner" is kept away from the American Kellys and Murphys, from the American Schultzes, Cohens or MacDonalds, from the Ole Olsons or the Tony Macaronis, would that restore prosperity? The very best it could do would be to lessen the competition for jobs a little bit on this side of the ocean and increase it correspondingly on the other side. If enough were kept out to constitute "the last straw that breaks the camel's back" of European capitalism, the revolutionary lid might blow off a bit sooner there. The most that can be said about keeping

out "the damned foreigner" is that capitalism is "damned if it does and damned if it don't."

"Heighten the Tariff Wall!"

To those who are not familiar with the facts in relation to American exports and imports, the keeping out of foreign products has a strong appeal. "If the cheap foreign commodities were kept out," they reason, "many American workers could be put to work producing such commodities here." This is really a double-edged knife that cuts both ways. American products are "cheap foreign commodities" in other countries. If American tariff walls are raised to keep out the "cheap foreign products," and European tariff walls are strengthened correspondingly, to keep out "the cheap foreign products" of America, there is no gain either way, and it might easily happen that in the tariff war America would be the loser. "Free trade" Britain and high tariff America are both floundering in the abyss of unemployment. Raising or lowering or even abolishing the tariff on imports is not going to solve the unemployment problem. Its causes lie much deeper than these tinkering methods can touch. Capitalist society is too sick for these doses of social physic to take effect. The condition calls for a major operation.

The Real Causes

Unemployment is the natural consequence of efficiency in production and the oversupplying of the market.

Supposing that a barrel will hold five gallons and that someone tries to pour six gallons into it, there is an overflow. Or, supposing that the five-gallon barrel is full

and the spigot is running at the rate of two gallons a day, but there is an inpouring at the bung at the rate of three gallons a day.

If that is kept up for some time, there is going to be a lot of liquid floating around that is not finding an outlet through the barrel. That is approximately the way the commodity market works. If more commodities are poured into the market than can be sold, it soon overflows. The over-plus, however, is not allowed to go to waste, at least not generally. It is stored up in warehouses in the form of surplus stocks of clothing, shoes, hats, furniture, food, machinery, etc.

Overproduction

It is this condition that is known as overproduction. It simply means that more commodities have been produced than can be sold. Then the owners of the factories and the big stocks of commodities say: "What is the use of us letting our workers produce more, when we cannot sell what we have on hand. We must not let it pile up any more. We must lay some of our workers off, give them a 'holiday'—one without pay."

The employers don't like to lay off their workers. They would rather put on extra men, because then business would be good and they would be making plenty of money. It is not profitable for the capitalists to close their factories or greatly to curtail production. It is simply a case of not being able to do anything else. The capitalists, in general, have been running their machinery faster than the products could be sold. They are all aiming to get richer and richer. Someone said to a capitalist once: "You

are a hog; you want all the business." He replied: "We are all hogs, but we know we can't get all the business, but each of us try to get as much as we can, regardless of the consequences."

This anarchy in the capitalist system brings on the periodical crises, so familiarly known to the American people as *panics*. These panics, each time they appear, tend to be more severe than their predecessors, and more prolonged. They encompass a larger percentage of the working population.

During the period of "depression," as it is politely called, the whole working class suffers. Not only is the unemployed section without an income but the rest of the workers suffer from short-time employment and correspondingly short wages that tend to be forced still lower through competition with the jobless on the outside. Of course, there is a certain measure of compensation through the falling prices of necessaries. The cost of living falls quite a bit but usually not in proportion to the fall in wages.

It is an indisputable fact that, with a developing crisis, the price of labor-power on the market is the first to fall and generally the last commodity to rise with the return of normal business conditions. The workers get the worst of it both ways, going and coming. They are the first to suffer on a falling market and the last to benefit on a rising one. Of course, it must be admitted that the capitalists also suffer economically. The loss of business brings bankruptcies, especially among the smaller ones, many of whom find themselves thrust into the ranks of the proletariat and often into the jobless section thereof.

The Present Economic Trend in the United States

The collapse of the stock market in the fall of 1929 was not the cause of the economic depression, but the result of it; clear proof that the depression was already well on its way. A thermometer does not change the weather. The rise and fall of the mercury is the result of atmospheric changes. The stock market stands in a similar relation to business as the thermometer does to the weather.

When business slackened and continued to get steadily worse, it was merely a question of time until the greater number of speculators in stocks would make the discovery that all was not well. When they lost confidence they started to unload. The rush to sell caused the market price of stocks to go tumbling downward still faster. This caused many superficial thinkers to conclude that the stock market crash sprang from loss of confidence alone. The secondary effect was put down as a primary cause.

Many efforts were made to restore the confidence of the speculators and to send the price of stocks upward. As a result of these efforts—the application of artificial respiration, as it were—the market rallied for a time, but the bottom was dropping out of business and nothing could keep the stock market from plunging downward with the business collapse.

Factories began to close up or go on part-time production. Economies were immediately enforced in all directions, throwing larger numbers out of work and making conditions still worse. We have now had nearly six years

of bad trade, with hardships for the workers and many bankruptcies among the smaller capitalists, and even a number of the larger ones.

Meantime, when we look around we find an enormous increase in the number of empty premises and houses. "For rent" signs confront us everywhere and the rate of rent is on the decline.

The "Middle Class"

Large numbers of the small capitalists have fallen on the battlefield of competition. It is not the chain stores that are closing up, at least not in noticeable numbers. But one would have to be blind indeed to fail to notice the enormous number of "independent" storekeepers that have lost their "independence."

This is one of the main results of panics, the further centralization of capital.

At the present time, and for the past three years, in addition to the small storekeepers going under, large numbers of the upper strata of the working class, the home-owners (or part owners), have lost their homes or their equity in them. We have no figures on the actual number of foreclosures for the year 1930-35, but it must have run into many millions throughout America.

In the best of times under capitalism the vast majority have no property of a real-estate character. We do not mean that they are without an extra suit of clothes or some furniture, a radio or even an automobile, but they do not own land or the building in which they live.

In addition to those who own no real estate there is a section of the working class who, even in "good times," have so little that they are often referred to as "suitcase

citizens," meaning thereby that all of their belongings could be put into a suitcase. When these moved from place to place, their belongings, in a suitcase, could be carried with one hand. Large numbers of these now are even without the suitcase and they would have nothing to put into it if they did have it.

Panics do not destroy property in general. There is usually just as much as there was before the panic, but it has passed into the hands of fewer people. Wealth has increased in the hands of a few and decreased or vanished from the hands of others.

Mergers

During crises there are many bank failures, especially among the smaller banks. Even some of the big banks collapse, and many more form mergers. They combine to save themselves from serious trouble, and also in the battle for business the stronger combinations win over the weaker ones. These mergers are an inevitable development under the capitalist system. They effect great economies and like the greater combinations in industry, with vast improvements in machinery, they eliminate many workers.

Technological Unemployment

In addition to the main cause of unemployment, *overproduction,* the producing of more commodities than the market has need of, there has recently been considerable emphasis put on the displacement of workers due to improvement of machinery and the machine process in general. The term "technological unemployment" has been much used of late by prominent writers and speakers. Unlike "psychological unemployment," it is a basic

reality. It is not a mental state but a condition of production itself.

During the years 1928-29, when business was booming and production surpassing previous years, it was becoming ever more apparent that workers were being displaced through improved machinery. The speeding up and extending to new lines of production the method known as mass production was laying off workers faster than they could be reabsorbed in new industries or through the extension of old ones.

These causes were responsible for the appearance of a large number of unemployed, even on an expanding commodity market. Therefore, we find that many workers were let out when business was at its best. Then, when the commodity market broke and the stock market registered the fact in its spectacular collapse, millions of workers were added to the unemployed army through the main factor, *overproduction.*

Underconsumption

Occasionally we hear some wise-acre say it is not *overproduction* that has caused the crisis but *underconsumption.* In the latter part of the nineteenth century a German professor, Dr. Eugen Dühring, put forth, among many other perversions of Socialism, the contention that crises arose in capitalist society from *underconsumption.* Frederick Engels, in his *Anti-Dühring* (page 299, Kerr edition), answered him as follows:

"But now, unfortunately, the underconsumption of the masses, the limitation of the consumption of the masses to that necessary for subsistence and reproduction, is not a new phenomenon. It has existed as long as there

have been exploiting and exploited classes. Even in those periods of history where the position of the masses was particularly favorable, as, for example, in England in the fifteenth century, they under-consumed. They were far removed from having their own annual total product at their disposal for consumption. But if underconsumption is an historical phenomenon of thousands of years standing, and that of the general congestion of the market manifesting itself in crises, *in consequence of a superfluity of production,* is a phenomenon which has first become visible in the last fifty years, then it requires all the vulgar economic shallowness of Herr Dühring to explain the new collision, not by the *new phenomenon of overproduction* but by underconsumption, which is already thousands of years old. It is just as if in mathematics one would explain the change in the relation of two magnitudes, one constant and one variable, not from the fact that the variable changes, but from the fact that the constant remains the same. Underconsumption of the masses is a necessary condition of all forms of society based on exploitation, hence also of the capitalistic form; *but only the capitalistic form of production first brings it to crises.* The underconsumption of the masses, therefor, is also a prerequisite of crises and plays in them a rôle which has long been recognized; but *it tells us just as little about the causes of the present existence of crises as it does about their earlier absence.*"

Also, in the *Communist Manifesto* (page 20), written in 1848, Marx and Engels said: "In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of overproduction."

The Social Process

Can unemployment be completely eliminated under the present social system? We say no. At best, it can only be reduced, to reappear in a more aggravated form. The jobless army will become larger and larger with each succeeding depression, and the indications are that there will be a permanent and increasing section of the workers unemployed in every modern country.

The capitalist class, through its various governments, cannot solve the problem of unemployment. It can only minister to the problem through "doles," through various forms of charity. In this relation it was pointed out as early as 1848 that the modern worker "instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper; and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." (*Communist Manifesto*, page 29.)

In Great Britain at one time a pauper could not vote. Anyone who had received "poor relief," government charity, was thereby disfranchised. If that was adhered to now it is likely that more than half the British working class would be unable to vote. Millions in the great capitalist countries have become official and unofficial paupers. Millions more, who now seem secure, will be drawn into the whirlpool of pauperism. This is the inevitable fate of the workers if capitalism continues.

Many workers will embrace public charity, pauperism, and adapt themselves to the slow starvation process that it entails. They will submit without resistance. Others will curse charity and resist its baneful, demoralizing

effects. To the capitalist class it is a sort of safety valve, like bones thrown to a hungry dog. When the bones get fewer and the hungry dogs become more numerous and "pack" capitalism will be confronted with its own nemesis. The class it called into being to serve it, to enrich it by its social labor, will rise to overthrow its political supremacy, and banish it as an owning class.

Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. Its historic course is almost run. It has prepared society for a new epoch. It has inadvertently furnished the workers with the means of closing its career. When the capitalist class stepped on to the historic stage (about the time America was discovered) they found production in its handicraft stage; small patriarchal workshops, linked together in trade guilds. These early merchant capitalists, due to the demand for commodities, brought on by the discovery of America and the opening up of a world market, were forced to reorganize industry. They replaced guild production by manufacture. The guild shops went out of business due to competition with the factory with its new class of workers—wage workers—or proletarians, as they are now called. Capitalist and laborer now faced each other in the relationship of buyer and seller. The worker sells his labor-power (his service) to the employer; the capitalist buys that labor-power at one value and sells the products of the laborer at a different value; a much higher value.

The Industrial Revolution

The demand for commodities, caused by a greatly expanded world market demonstrated, in time, that manufacture (production in factories with hand tools) was

not equal to the task. A new way had to be found to produce more. The pressure for products, the social "necessity," was "the mother of invention." Machinery came at a certain historical period in answer to this social need.

Modern industry (the machine process of production) has made tremendous progress. It has depopulated rural communities and brought into being enormous cities, with industrial populations of undreamed of proportions.

While capitalism was on the ascendency, it not only "rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life," it also furnished a section of the working population with comforts and luxuries that no former producing class enjoyed; while at the same time, side by side with that, it has reduced an ever-increasing number to pauperism. It has reached a stage where the vast majority now live on "the ragged edge"; a most precarious existence. This condition gets worse and worse. The small property owners, storekeepers, for instance, are being thrust into the ranks of the proletariat. The chain stores and the big department stores are forcing out the little "independents." They are now losing their "independence."

This process of increasing population and tremendous increase in wealth, together with the impoverishment of the masses and the increase of pauperism, furnishes the factors for intensified political conflict between the classes. The class that owns the vast means of production and enjoys untold wealth (relatively smaller than ever in numbers) is confronted with the enormous class of propertyless proletarians. Of course, not all of the proletarians are jobless. If that were the case, capitalism would

be in a state of collapse. The truth of the matter is that with a portion of the workers, making use of the wonderful machines of today, more can be produced than can be sold. The working section of the proletariat is now carrying on industry. Almost every worker, from the floor sweeper to the manager of the modern factory, is a hired "hand" or a hired "head." These workers have no ownership in the means of production, except a few who have a share or two of stock forced upon them to make them believe that they are in partnership with their bosses.

The industries are operated *socially.* That is the outstanding characteristic of modern industry, *social production.* No one worker now produces a commodity. The products are produced socially, by the cooperation of thousands of workers. There exists, however, a condition in capitalist society at large which is quite the opposite, social confusion. While the commodities are produced on a social or collectivist plan, they are appropriated on an anti-social, individualistic plan. The wealth of the modern world is produced *socially,* but possessed *individually.* This is the *great contradiction* of capitalist society; social production and individual appropriation.

The Solution

Unemployment can only be abolished by abolishing the system that produces it—the capitalist system. The class that is on top, the capitalists, are certainly not going to abolish their own social system. They will not give up their wealth and power voluntarily. If there is to be any fundamental change—if the industries are to be *socialized* —then it is the workers, the modern proletarians, who must bring about the change.

How are the capitalists organized? Is it not clear that their real organized power lies in government, the state? It is through their political power that they are able to retain possession of the industries and appropriate to themselves the wealth that is produced socially. The school, the press, the pulpit and every other means of controlling the mass mind are used to keep the workers quiet; but should these fail, there is the repressive machinery of the State at the disposal of the capitalists. The army, militia, police, judiciary, jails, etc., can be used by the capitalists, through their control of government, for the purpose of holding the workers in subjection.

The American capitalists own and control the two major political parties, the Republican and Democratic parties. Whichever party is in office, the capitalist class has its affairs attended to, its interests served, and the workers' interests ignored. These parties are not intended to serve the working class in any way. They are financed and controlled by the capitalists for the capitalists.

This condition can only be met effectively by organization of the workers. The political forces of the workers must be withdrawn from the support of the capitalist parties and used to fight them. The defeat of the Republican and Democratic parties is part of the general struggle of the workers to defeat their class enemy, the capitalist class.

To succeed in the struggle for political supremacy and gain possession of the means of production the workers must build a powerful political party of their own. The workers must elect their own representatives to all political offices. This is the logical development of the working-class force necessary to overcome capitalist repression. Only through the overthrow of capitalist State power and the establishment of a proletarian form of government will the workers be able to socialize the industries and expropriate the capitalist class.

Until this is achieved unemployment cannot be eliminated. When all the non-productive people, the big parasites as well as their vast army of hangers-on, are put to do some useful work and all the jobless ones are usefully employed, the working time will be reduced to a few hours a day, with plenty of leisure time but no starvation. Unemployment as we know it today will be just a hideous memory of the capitalist past.

STUDY SOCIALISM

The literature dealing with Socialism is immense. In order to understand the scientific basis of Socialism it is necessary to study the works of the best writers. The following valuable aids are recommended to the student.

Shop Talks on Economics. By Mary Marcy. Explains why the wage-workers create wealth and then turn most of it over to the capitalists. Clear, simple, forcible, just the book to start with. Price 10 cents.

Value, Price and Profit. By Karl Marx. A brief and scientific explanation of the process by which the employer buys the workers' labor-power, and sells the product of the worker at a profit. Price 25 cents.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. A great book written nearly fifty years ago and predicting the social changes now in progress, explaining their causes and the outcome. Price 25 cents.

The Communist Manifesto. By Marx and Engels. First published in 1847, this wonderful document has been translated into all European languages, and is still the textbook of the coming revolution. Price 10 cents.

Wage-Labor and Capital. By Karl Marx. The characteristics of wage labor and capital and their relationships are clearly set forth in this pamphlet. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price 10 cents.

The Right to Be Lazy. By Paul Lafargue. A brilliant satire pointing out the fact that what the workers need is not more work but more of the good things their work creates. Price 10 cents.

Any of these books mailed on receipt of price.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
BOX 1251
MAN

HOW THE GODS WERE MADE
By John Keracher

Written from the standpoint of historical materialism this pamphlet explains the origin and development of religious beliefs and shows the forces now working to destroy superstition and advance science. **Paper, 15c**

THE EVOLUTION OF WAR
By Emanuel Kanter

Traces war from its early beginnings and shows the great difference between mere tribal feuds and actual warfare with its territorial conquests and imperialistic objectives. **Cloth, $1.00**

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
By Karl Marx

The forerunner of "Capital," this work deals more extensively with money than "Capital." Briefly sketches theories of other economists. Contains a classical formulation of the materialistic conception of history theory. **Cloth, $1.25**

SOME OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS ON SOCIALISM, SCIENCE, RELIGION, ETC.
By Josef Dietzgen

A companion volume to "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Philosophy is dealt with by a worker for workers. Shows that all knowledge comes from the material world, as transmitted through the medium of the senses. **Cloth, $1.50**

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT
By Karl Marx

A careful study of this useful pamphlet makes a good approach to the study of Volume I of Marx's "Capital." **Paper, 25c**

CAPITAL TODAY
By Herman Cahn

A Marxian study of recent economic developments. Shows the progressive inability of capitalism to carry on production and give the workers the necessities of life. **Cloth, $2.00**

THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX
By Louis B. Boudin

One of the few sound works on Marxism which have been produced in America. Analyzes the arguments of Marx's opponents and "revisers." **Cloth, $1.25**

ETHICS AND THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY
By Karl Kautsky

The Marxian interpretation of ethics shows the material roots of morals and human behavior. It explains the relation of ethics to the dominant class in each historic period and how they change with economic changes. **Cloth, 60c**

THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY
By Karl Marx

This work on economics was a polemic which practically ended the influence of Proudhon and Rodbertus on the labor movement. Deals with value, surplus-value, rent, labor unions, etc. Has appendices on Proudhon, John Gray, and Free Trade. **Cloth, $1.25**

ANTI-DÜHRING
By Friedrich Engels

The only work compressing into one volume the Marxian world-outlook in its relation to the various fields of knowledge and science and the future society. **Cloth, $2.00**

Write for Complete List

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

341 East Ohio Street, Chicago